

[37] many other shrubs, a large variety of ferns and mosses, and in-
 [262] numerable fungi, some of which are eaten. Creepers and epiphytes
 of all kinds abound, but there are fewer orchids than are reported
 from other islands: a small white variety is the most common. The
 [487] abundance of rattan and other thorny plants makes progress
 through uncut bush a slow and sometimes painful business, and as
 a path that is little used very soon becomes overgrown, no one
 ever goes any distance into the bush without a knife.

The bush is disappointing in its lack of colour. It is all too
 green. Not only are the flowers few and far between—partly owing
 [39] to the fact that a native will never pass a flowering shrub without
 taking his toll of its blossoms to put in his hair—but the birds and
 136 the butterflies also are less brilliant than I had expected. There are
 some bright red and blue parrots, and the cockatoos, dazzlingly
 white in the sunshine, are conspicuous amid the foliage, but other-
 wise the birds are not striking, except the hornbill, with his extra-
 ordinary yellow beak and the whirr of his wings, which is one of the
 most characteristic sounds of the forest. There are several varieties
 of pigeon, called in imitation of its plaintive note, *kūrō*, and
 numbers of small birds, of which the most noticeable is a species
 of wagtail. Butterflies, though very large, are mostly black or
 brown, flecked or striped with white, but there is also a very
 beautiful black one with small iridescent bluish-green patches on
 its smaller wings.

The bush abounds with life, but nearly all the creatures are of
 small size. The largest animal is the wild pig, which if you meet
 it is usually far more frightened than ferocious, unless it is
 wounded, or has young. The cuscus opossum, or phalanger, which
 lives in the holes of hollow trees, attains to about the size of a large
 cat. Flying foxes in great numbers keep up their short sharp bark
 nearly all night, and what with them and the frogs, and some
 insect of the grasshopper tribe (called by the natives *nen-nen*,
 because its note sounds like these syllables repeated in a high-
 pitched voice), the bush is never silent except perhaps for an hour
 or so before dawn. Iguanas and all kinds of small lizards are
 plentiful, and there are also snakes, whether poisonous or not I
 • [825] cannot say. The natives are afraid of them, and kill them on sight,
 if possible, by beating them with a stick. The large coco-nut-eating
 land-crab (from Guppy's description I take this to be *Birgus latro*)
 is an odd sight. These natives do not eat it, as do others elsewhere,

PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH

843 the appropriate time which I could obtain was that it took place 'when the woman's belly has grown large'. The first part of it was performed for Sacsac at Kurtatchi on March 13; her baby was born on April 30. Her mother, with whom she was staying, decided when it should be done.

843 A man is sent out into the bush to catch a young opossum. It must be brought to the village alive. Then a woman takes hold of
 • 825 the live opossum and rubs its back against the abdomen of the
 842 expectant mother. No particular woman, relative or otherwise, was specified as suitable for this duty, but in the case of Sacsac it was performed by her mother. It must be done just before sunrise. After rubbing the animal up and down several times against the woman's abdomen, the operator lets it fall to the ground. This represents the birth of the child. The people standing round ask: 'What sort of child is it?' If the opossum is a male, the woman says: 'It is a boy', if a female, she says: 'It is a girl.' This is supposed to be prognostic of the sex of the expected child, but my informants admitted that it was not always correct! I was not able to ascertain any views held by these natives as to the determination of sex, apart from this performance, and as far as I could ascertain the sex of the opossum was regarded only as an indication, not as a cause, of the sex of the baby.

843 The opossum is then killed by having its head struck on the
 825 ground. Its hair is singed off, and it is boiled in a pot with some
 [262] taro. Its flesh must be eaten only by women who have borne children without difficulty, otherwise the mother's delivery will be a hard one. In the case of Sacsac, her mother, who has had seven children, six of whom are living, ate most of it. The pregnant woman herself must drink the water in which the opossum has
 [302] been boiled. Then her hair is cut short all round her head just above the ears, and is smeared all over with black paint. Up to this time she has not been allowed to use paint on her head.

843 Then she goes to the sea and washes. She looks for a gap in the
 782 reef where the water is pouring in towards the shore very rapidly. Over this she must jump. The action is said to have the effect of shaking up the child so that when it is born delivery will take place quickly. Meanwhile, the women have been collecting all the debris from the food that has been cooked in connexion with the ceremony (the leaves and peelings of the taro, the bones of the opossum, &c.). Some of them carry it down to the sea, accompanying the pregnant

PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH

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culty in the dim light of dawn. It was an occipito-anterior presentation, and apparently normal. Sighs of relief and smiles of pleasant anticipation came from all the women. 844

The child was expelled on to a piece of areca-palm sheath spread on the ground between the mother's knees. Immediately it was delivered, the woman kneeling behind Manēv pressed heavily on her abdomen with her clasped hand, and pushed out the after-birth, which was left attached to the child, the cord not being cut at this stage. The mother then stood up, and another woman tied a broad band of banana fibre tightly round her abdomen.

The child lay very still, giving no signs of life. The women looked at it and said: 'It is sick.' One said: 'It is dead.' Then one of them started to stamp with her foot on the piece of fibre on which the child lay, shaking it fairly violently. Another beat two sticks together, making as much noise as possible. I was given a stick and requested to rattle it on the floor. This was done, they told me, to frighten away the *urar* who was trying to kill the child. No one attempted to touch the infant. After a while its chest heaved a little. Immediately she saw this, its grandmother, Sanasi, warmed a finger and thumb at the fibre, and rubbed them along the umbilical cord, calling for a *kapi*-shell knife (black-lip oyster, used by women for peeling taro, &c., see Pl. 38, No. 3). This was produced and handed to Manēv, who was told to cut the cord, which she did, holding it with one hand and cutting it with the knife held in the other hand, while Sanasi held it taut. About three inches was left attached to the child. The cord was not ligatured, and nothing was done to the cut ends, but they did not bleed much. [825 • 412]

The grandmother then took up the child and began to shake it. Putting her finger as far as she could into its mouth, she exhorted it to cry. 'Cry loudly.' For a few moments it made no sound. She took it by the heels and swung it backwards and forwards, face downwards. Presently a very feeble little wail came from it, and then it continued to cry, but not vigorously enough to please the women, who kept on telling it to cry louder, and Sanasi kept on pushing her finger into its mouth. Some cold water was then poured over head, back, and chest out of a coco-nut. No attempt was made to cleanse the child properly. Sanasi wiped its eyes with her finger, but not very thoroughly. Its cry was now sounding more healthy.

Meanwhile, Manēv, who seemed vigorous and active, had been

CUSTOMS CONCERNING FOOD

843 During pregnancy a woman may not eat the megapode (*iowa*) nor the fish called *tur5*. Her husband should also observe this rule.

262 No reason was given for this taboo. The woman must also abstain from a sea-creature called *awaian*, which is described as like a little snake, and living among the stones in the sea. This taboo would appear to have arisen for a reason like that which forbids a pregnant Trobriand woman to eat certain kinds of fish: 'Just as it is difficult to haul these fish out of their hiding-places, so the baby would not easily be brought forth.' (Malinowski, 1929, p. 193.) A pregnant

843 woman must on no account eat a certain frog called *toktok*, which
262 frequents banana palms. It has unusually long legs, and it is
825 thought that if she eats it her child will have legs of abnormal length.¹ Another kind of frog, *kakō*, which lives in pools in the bush, is specially recommended; if she eats it her child will be large and the period of pregnancy pass easily.

844 While labour is in progress the husband must abstain from food
262 of any kind. The woman's mother, whether present at the confinement or not, must abstain from eating pig.

846 After the birth, for an indeterminate period ('while the baby is very small'), the parents may not eat pig, fish, opossum, shell-fish,
262 or barringtonia fruit. Why the last-named should be included my informants did not know. The effect of the other prohibitions is to confine the parents to a vegetarian diet; this is thought to be of advantage to the child. The mother is subjected to further restrictions. She must chew with her areca-nut only the leaf of the betel-pepper, not touching the catkin-like fruit, which is much preferred in the ordinary way. The reason given for this change is that the fruit is stronger than the leaf, and might harm the mother's milk. The nursing mother must also abstain from bananas and canarium almonds. While awaiting Manēv's confinement I was frequently given presents of both these things, which I shared with the expectant mother, to her great enjoyment, but her friend, Ema, who was constantly with us, would never accept any, saying that she was forbidden to eat them because she had a suckling child.

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The mother's first meal after her confinement is the occasion of peculiar care. It consists of soup (*sivo*), i.e. the water in which the

¹ Little girls are taught by their mothers to avoid this creature. Any unmarried person who eats it will not find favour with the opposite sex.

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taro has been cooked, and taro which has been boiled, not roasted in the embers. The taro for this meal, which must, in consequence of the prohibitions above mentioned, be eaten without its usual relish of fish or flesh, is brought home wrapped up in leaves, so that it is never exposed to view in the open air. The reason given for this precaution is that if it were so exposed, Manu, the big brown eagle, might see it, in which case the child would die. It will be remembered that Manu is the most important totem among these people, but the precaution is taken irrespective of the clan to which the child belongs. Manu appears to be regarded in this connexion as a being of whom the people are afraid, and who has power to harm the new member of the community. The importance of this first meal is further emphasized by the fact that the baby's mother's father, if available, is considered the appropriate person to go and fetch the taro, a task which under ordinary circumstances is never performed by a man. It is brought into the hut by the front or men's entrance (*tagoan*), instead of, as would happen in the usual course of things, by the women's entrance (*babots*).

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COUVADE

As soon as the expectant mother feels the pains beginning, her husband must stop working, and remain indoors, not in the hut where his wife is confined, but in that of another of his wives, or of a neighbour. He must spend his time in sitting idle or dozing, and must on no account carry, or even lift, anything heavy, or touch a knife, axe, or any sharp or pointed instrument. To do the former would injure the child, the latter would cause it to die. This continues for three days. On the fourth day he may go into the hut and see his child. After this he is allowed to walk about the village, but must not go outside it. He must still refrain from working. On the fifth day he goes, with his wife, and washes in the sea; these are his first ablutions since the child was born. Then he may take an axe or a knife and go into the hut and pretend to cut the child; this removes the taboo on his use of sharp instruments, and he may now resume his usual activities. In the case of the child whose birth is described in the previous pages, this cutting was not done till the morning of the sixth day, but in discussions on the subject the fifth day was always stated as the appropriate time. It would appear, therefore, that five days is the minimum for the observance of couvade.

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524 (bilin) are made out of leaves, very much like the paper ones we buy in the street.

Perhaps the favourite 'sitting-down game' for children of both sexes is string figures—'cat's-cradles', *waruru*—at which they are very adept. They use a thin twisted fibre torn from the dried sheath of a banana plant, or a bit of native string. Some of the patterns are very elaborate, generally they are made by one person only, but a few require two pairs of hands, between which the string is interchanged to the accompaniment of a dialogue usually referring to the counting of pigs. I collected over fifty, most of which I have not seen recorded elsewhere. In this part of the world this pastime is not indulged in only by women and children, for though the children are its most frequent performers, men also do not disdain to amuse themselves in this manner. There is no special season for cat's-cradles, they are made every day in every village all the year round.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS ANIMALS

231 The children are very friendly with the domestic pigs, which rank as household pets. It is really funny to see a black baby sitting
 ● 825 in a black puddle cuddling a large black pig. Unfortunately I never succeeded in getting a good photograph of this characteristic scene. They do not often take liberties with the dogs, which, being kept on short rations, are apt to be bad-tempered.

524 As regards wild animals the story is very different. Much has
 825 been written about the natural cruelty of children. These of Bougainville are certainly completely indifferent to the amount of suffering they inflict on the beasts, birds, and insects they torture for their amusement, whether wantonly or from thoughtlessness I do not know. They tie all kinds of creatures to a string, and, like Nelly Bly, 'let them go a little way and pull them back again'. I have seen them treat in this manner iguanas, bats, opossum, birds, and also various kinds of insects, including stag-beetles, which they knock off the trees with poles, and whirl round on the end of a string to make them buzz. When the child tires of this game he usually kills the creature by dashing it against the ground. They like to get hold of a mother with its young, perhaps a flying fox or an opossum, and tease both by letting the young one grip its mother and then pulling it away, this game usually finishes by both animals being cooked and eaten. Some children, both boys

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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and girls, like to tie live butterflies to their fuzzy mops with a long string, and watch them flutter round their heads. Instances could be multiplied indefinitely. But they rarely tease or bully their companions, as our own children so frequently do. 524 825 ●

GROUP GAMES

There is a kind of game, played generally by the little girls, the general plan of which is that the children sit down in a line or a ring and make certain movements accompanied by a chant or a conversation, or both. A typical one is as follows: The children sit in two rows, facing one another, with their legs stretched out so that the toes of the children in one row are touching the toes of those in the other. They rub their hands along their thighs, singing: '*Ko ro soa, ro ro soa, wabiu wakoko-koko kurē, wakurē, wakurē, wakurē.*' *Soa* means to paddle a canoe, the two rows of children are intended to represent the sides of a *mon* (plank canoe, used for long journeys). Presently one child asks her opposite neighbour: '*En no nom ini?*' ('Where are you going?') The other child replies: '*Io to no no i Timputs*' ('I am going to Timputs'), mentioning the name of some village known to the children. As she says it she tucks up one leg under her body. Then the next child asks the question of her opposite number, and is similarly answered, with the name of another village, and so on, till all the players have one leg tucked up under them. Then the whole performance is repeated, tucking up the other leg. When all have both legs tucked up under them, they say, all together: '*Nog ma tsura, a kūrū atwara*' ('Make a fire, here is a snake'). Then they all get up and run away. 524 857

Another game, also based on a journey in a canoe, is called *gigiri mo mon*—'to paddle a canoe very hard'. The girls—whenever I saw this played it was always girls only who took part in it—sit on the ground close together, one behind the other, each with her legs stretched out one on either side of the girl in front of her, holding her thus round the hips. Then they wriggle along the ground swaying from side to side as if paddling first on one side of a canoe and then on the other, going through the motions of paddling with their hands, singing all together: '*O ro ro soa, wa bi'awa ko ko kwae.*'

Pelay bot I have seen played by little boys. One child sits on the ground with his feet outstretched. Another sits on his feet, which are kept close together. The first child puts his arms one on either side of the second and they clasp hands, then they jerk themselves

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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in which sexual incidents took a prominent place. The telling of even the most outspoken of these by small boys or girls gave rise to no comments from the audience, nor was it ever made the subject of a jest.

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I do not think that any set and definite teaching on sexual matters is given to these children. It certainly is not part of the ritual attaching to the seclusion prior to puberty rites either of boys or girls. This was clearly stated by all with whom I discussed the subject, and it is obvious that long before the children reach the age to undergo these ceremonies they have already acquired a very considerable amount of knowledge, indeed it would be difficult for them to remain in ignorance, since sex forms such a commonplace of everyday life that the most intimate details can be learned in the natural course of things by listening to conversations, observing people's behaviour, watching animals, &c. There is no lack of directness in answering any questions a child may happen to put on the subject, and no suggestion that such matters should not be thought of or talked about. They recognize that sexual practices are hedged about with taboos that should not be, but often are, broken, but so likewise is almost every other activity with which they are familiar—such, for example, as eating or conversing, and, so far as my observations enable me to judge, all these aspects of life are taken for granted in much the same way.

MEDICINE AND MAGIC PERTAINING TO CHILDREN

Small children will frequently be seen wearing round their necks, waists, or arms, strings of leaves, usually of some plant having aromatic properties. Certain plants are known as *nibnib pi* *ba'i*, flowers for children. These are liked partly because they smell nice, but most of them are also thought to assist the child's growth. The bones of a freshwater fish (*kakau*) caught by hand by men in streams in the bush are hung round the child's neck for the same reason, and hanging from a bit of fibre round its waist will often be seen a hollow tube which appears to be the dried nest of some bush insect. It is called *titi u re* and was described to me as 'the house of a little snake'.

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There are a number of prescriptions in my collection intended to be used for children who do not thrive. Most of them consist of the leaves or stems of various plants rubbed or pulped and mixed with water, which is then given to the child to drink. Rather more

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II. Regulations concerning food.

When they first put on the hat, the boys may not eat opossum, but this prohibition is removed as soon as their hair has grown a little. It may be, though it was not stated by my informants, that this taboo has arisen because the cuscus opossum has very short fur, with the idea that if they were to eat the animal before their hair had grown beyond the length of the fur, it would never attain greater length than this. Even after they are permitted to eat opossum, it must be cooked in an oven; they may not touch any 'possum meat that has been roasted in the embers or boiled in a pot. Pig is allowed them cooked in any fashion.

Fish may be partaken of freely, cooked in any manner, except that certain specified kinds are totally prohibited. These are: *karawa*, *sosoa* (garfish), *toro*, *poa*, and *usey*. I could elicit no reason for the prohibition of these particular fish. They are not rare, neither are they especially highly prized as articles of food. It is noteworthy that there is no prohibition on the eating of bonito.

The boys may eat fruit, except a certain variety of banana called *mason*, the fruit of the banana palm used in the girl's first menstruation ceremony. The relation between bananas and sexual matters has been referred to in another connexion—it is because of this that the fruit is prohibited to the *upi* boys.

There is also a taboo upon the eating of canarium almonds, until a ceremony has been performed whereat the boys are given nuts to eat in public. If this rule is broken it is said that their hair will not grow. I could discover no reason why such a result was supposed to follow. It may be that it was used as a deterrent, and that the taboo is for disciplinary purposes. Since canarium almonds are eaten with the greatest relish by everybody, it represents a very real deprivation; but, on the other hand, nothing was said by any of my informants about the idea of discipline, in discussing the regulations enforced at this stage, though it entered very definitely into the dietary restrictions imposed during the seclusion prior to the *wapi* ceremony, as this was clearly stated more than once in our discussions on these matters. Perhaps one might venture to conjecture that, like some of the Australian food taboos, it may originally have been devised with a view to conserving the supply of nuts for the benefit of the rest of the village. Seeing that the boys of Bougainville do not differ fundamentally from boys

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them, and women, though they do not carry them, may see them without hindrance.

THE WASIPSIP CEREMONY

The *wasipsip* is considered the least important ceremony of the three. If it is convenient for some of the boys to remove their hats at any particular time after the holding of the *watawuts*, a *wasipsip* may be arranged for the benefit of a few, or even of one boy alone, if there is any special reason for doing so. Thus, for example, a boy who wishes to go and work as an indentured labourer will sometimes persuade the elders to hold a *wasipsip* for his benefit. But in the ordinary way, the boys who go through the other two ceremonies together also join for the third.

The boys must first spend a few days, perhaps ten, in the bush. This seclusion is called *wamibē*, the same word as is applied to the seclusion before the *wapi*. They stay in the bush until noon on the day fixed for the ceremony. During this time they must not be seen by the women. Food is brought to them by the *kwigin*. At noon they come to the village and go inside a palisade enclosing a little *tobar*, specially made, just big enough to accommodate the number of initiates involved. The inside of this *tobar* is decorated with leaves, and strings of shell money. They remain there for the remainder of that day, and sleep there that night. At dawn next day they get up, and their hair is cut off by their *amro*, with a *kina* shell (a variety of *Cyrena*, having a very sharp edge). The hair is cut quite short, and is trimmed close to the head at the back and perpendicularly at the sides. The *amro* then paint the heads of the novices with the special pattern appropriate to the removal of the *upi* (described on p. 224). All the people *kōma*, and *mabu* are blown. For the *wasipsip* it is considered enough if there are two *mabu* only.

The *amro* take their charges on their shoulders, just as they did in the *watawuts* ceremony. No lime-pots or areca-nut boughs are carried, and the faces of the initiates are not painted as in the former ceremony. A few figures of men, women, and birds are carried round in front of them; these must be made afresh for this occasion, those used at the *watawuts* having been burnt.

When they have been once round, the boys get down from the shoulders of the *amro*, and go to the chief *tsumaux*, who gives them water in coco-nut shells. This they must really drink, not pretend

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for them to be on the road. The next day, several had to get up and go down early because they had nothing to eat. 251

In the case of those villages which are unfortunate in not possessing sufficient land of suitable quality for growing enough taro to meet their requirements, the women make regular trips to trade with the women of other villages, obtaining taro in exchange for other commodities, chiefly fish. Details of this system of barter will be found in Chapter XII. 437

The usual methods of cooking taro are either to boil it in a native pot (lined with banana leaves, which also cover the top, tucked in over the contents), or to roast it by laying it on the embers of a smouldering fire. In both cases it is first peeled or scraped (*kuiskuis*) with a knife (*nanes*) made of a black-lip oyster-shell which has been ground down to the hard pearly surface by rubbing on rough coral (Pl. 38, no. 3). These knives are preferred to trade knives for this purpose; the women say the trade knives spoil the taro. Two other kinds of shells, a conus (no. 4) and a dolium (no. 5), are occasionally used instead of the black-lip oyster. Taro is also cooked in a native oven (*ta'ō*). When a woman wishes to make such an oven (*nog a ta'ō*), she first scrapes out a hollow in the ground, probably inside the hut at the women's end of it, and then builds up a framework of sticks in it, by laying in two lines of sticks and some cross-pieces. This is then lighted from a smouldering log or the embers of a fire; when it has flamed up she places a quantity of round stones, about the size of a hen's egg, in the flames, and also throws on taro parings to make it flame up well. When the wood is burnt away and the stones are hot, water is thrown on the flames to make them die down and to produce steam, the food to be cooked is laid on the hot stones, and the whole is covered up with some of the hot stones and the dirt from the floor which was displaced in making the hole. The oven is left thus for several hours, being generally prepared in the evening and opened up on the following morning. When the cooked food has been taken out, the stones are carefully put away in a corner of the hut for future use. 252
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Taro is never eaten raw; it would be as unpalatable as our own potatoes in the same state. It is liked either hot or cold, and is frequently prepared beforehand, placed in a basket made of plaited coco-nut leaves, and hung up in the rafters of the hut until required later in the day; it is not, however, kept for more than about twenty-four hours. 251
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DIET, COOKING, AND MEALS

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feast. Sometimes they are eaten as they are, almost raw, sometimes they are cooked a little more, by being placed on the fire a second time. 252

The procedure of cooking pigs is always the same as that above described. The men always attend to it throughout; women are allowed to be present and to look on, but they never take any part in the work. If several pigs are to be cooked, there may be quite a number of men engaged in the various operations. On one occasion I counted ten men busy over the cooking of four pigs (see Pl. 35). 252 462

Opossum are skinned and cleaned before being cooked. The animal is pulled apart at the joints, and each section, with the meat on it, is roasted separately by being laid on the fire and scorched, or wrapped in a package of leaves and cooked slowly in the embers of a smouldering fire. More rarely, they are smoked whole. I once, at a bartering expedition, saw a woman with a load of smoked opossums on her back; they looked exactly like mummied cats. Flying foxes are treated in the same way as opossum, and are much appreciated by the boys wearing the *upi* who may not eat the other animal at a certain stage in their rites. Bats of a smaller variety are cooked, frequently by children, by holding them over a fire. Iguanas are eaten only occasionally, if other flesh food has been scarce. [251] 252 262

The bush abounds with insects of the grasshopper family, some reaching a length of 3 or 4 inches. These are considered great delicacies by the children, who toast them by impaling them on sticks held over a fire. They told me that these creatures were 'Tab on a dum tsu-u-u-u-u-a!' 'Something very, very, very good to eat!' Adults are not above eating them when they feel so inclined.

The coast people will not eat snakes (*koro*), but they say the mountain people do so. This, however, was denied by those whom I had an opportunity of questioning on the subject, so it may be only a recognized form of insult. There are a number of stories in my collection dealing with people who inadvertently ate a snake, either by mistake for a *met'on* (sea slug), or through a mean trick played by some one else, who gives the man a piece of snake telling him it is opossum, an impertinence for which the practical joker, in most of the tales, pays with his life. 262 825 538

Several different kinds of frogs are used as food. The generic 262

415 individual needs, half a coco-nut shell makes an excellent cup or bowl, leaves may be used as plates, and a shell (usually a species of cyrena, Pl. 38, no. 6) serves many of the purposes for which we use a spoon. These, with the women's knife made of black-lip oyster-shell and the large trade knives which are now universal, constitute the chief utensils employed in preparing and eating meals. Fingers and teeth are the aids to feeding most in evidence.

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When ready to serve, the pot with its contents is placed on the verandah, or on the ground, where every one can reach to put his hand in and pick out a chunk of taro or a handful of tiny shell-fish. These people will put their hands into water that is only just off the boil, and take out a taro so hot that when they passed me my share I invariably dropped it, till I learned to wrap a leaf round my hand before accepting it. Similarly they will plunge a hand into a potful of shell-fish immediately it has been taken off the fire. Fish that has been cooked in leaves will be laid out on the verandah, still resting on its leaf-covering; if the fish are small each person will take one or more, according to the quantity available, if large, pieces will be torn off with the fingers. Sometimes a number of cooked taro or the portions of a disjointed opossum will be passed round in a coco-nut-leaf basket. If you have taken more than you want you pass the remainder of the taro or the half-picked bone to some one else, probably one of the children, with the remark '*Komanē a libul*', 'My belly is full'. I never saw any one put partly eaten food back into the pot. There are always plenty of dogs and pigs in attendance, who see to it that no fragments are left on the ground when the meal is over. The pigs are specially fed with the taro peelings and any other bits accruing from the preparation of the meal, being called up by name by the housewife for this purpose. The dogs fare more meagrely, being purposely kept on short rations in order that they may be fierce in hunting.

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SMOKING

276 Smoking is universally indulged in, even by quite small children. Apart from the merest babies I do not remember meeting any one [855] who did not smoke. It is a common sight to see a little girl of perhaps five or six strutting about with a pipe in her mouth, which may or may not be alight (Pl. 37b).

249 Tobacco is grown in small quantities and cured by being hung
276 in bundles in the sun, but everybody much prefers the variety to
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THE FOOD QUEST

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Opossum are sometimes required for ceremonial purposes. Large quantities of them must be caught before going out to cut the *pa'i* (ridge-poles) for the long house to be used at the *wata-wut* ceremony. They are necessary also to the performance of one of the rain-making ceremonies, where they are offered to the *war*. 224 825 ●

Iguana

Men and boys go to the bush and look until they find an iguana in a tree. Then one of the party climbs the tree and startles the animal, which probably either falls down or tries to escape; in either case it will be caught by other men waiting at the tree-foot. It is killed by blows from a stick. 224

I do not know of any magic connected with iguana hunting. Perhaps its absence, or relative unimportance, if it exists, may be explained by the fact that these creatures are not much desired as food, and are therefore but little sought after.

Birds

Birds are shot with bow and arrows, the latter being made of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf. The much larger and more elaborate arrows formerly used for war are now reserved for carrying at ceremonies, and are never used for hunting. But the same bow is used in both cases. Some of the little boys are very skilful in the use of these sago-palm leaf arrows. 223 411

Birds are also taken with nets. A man and a boy will go out before dawn; the man will climb a tree and stretch a net across it, keeping it taut by means of a stick. As the birds fly across it they are caught in its meshes, and the boy goes up and brings them down. 223 286

There is also a form of trap or snare used for taking birds. It is called *matra*. I have not seen it in use, but two of the men constructed one in the village square for me to see how it was done (Fig. 11). Two sticks are placed upright on the ground, about 18 inches apart. A sapling is chosen, or put in on purpose, about 3 feet away from them. Its top is bent over, and a piece of fibre tied to it. At the other end of the piece of fibre a small twig is fastened. Two sticks are placed horizontally one above the other, passing from one of the uprights to the other. These are not fastened, but are held in place by the tension of the sapling pulling 223

226 are caught, even if only a single one, there is great rejoicing. If the catch is a large one, the fish are shared by all the people of the village; a small catch is distributed among the men who went out; if only one fish is taken it belongs to the owner of the canoe.

The most important place in this region, in connexion with bonito fishing, is the island of Pororan. Men from other parts of Buka and from the north coast of Bougainville go to Pororan to learn the special magic required for it, and it is from there that the stone fish which play an important part in that magic are obtained. The men who were specialists in these matters at Kurtatchi said that they had learnt what they knew from the people of Pororan, who knew much more than they did.

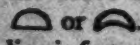
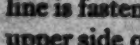
226 Bonito fishing is the work of men exclusively; the women have
462 no part in the catching, but they are permitted to carry home, clean, and cook the fish. The older boys take part in it while still wearing the *upi*, but I did not hear of any ceremony corresponding to the 'making *malaohu*' described by Ivens (1927, pp. 131 ff.) in connexion with a boy's first fishing expedition.

Bonito hook and rod.

227 Bonito are caught with a long flexible rod of bamboo, and a special hook, which is used for no other purpose.

227 This hook (*agats* in the Petats dialect, *kanun* in the Kurtatchi dialect) consists of a shell shank with a point made of turtle-shell.

321 For the shank, *Tridacna* (clam) is generally employed, but *Meleagrina* (the black-lip oyster), *Conus* (the green-snail), *Turbo*, and *Cassis* are also used. If made of clam shell, the shank is flattened on the under side, in other cases it may be slightly convex, following the curve of the shell, so that in cross-section it may be either

227  or  The proximal end has a small tang, behind which the line is fastened. The line is never, so far as I know, carried along the upper side of the shank and attached near the point, as is described by Hiroa for Samoa (1930, p. 501). The distal end of the shank is cut so as to leave a projecting piece, or sometimes two, on each side; between and on both sides of this is twisted the lashing which secures the point. The lashing consists of native fibre-string, of different thicknesses according to the size of the hook, twisted round both point and shank several times, the arrangement differing considerably in individual specimens, but always very neatly finished. Tiny bits of wood are wedged on either side of

332 Then catch A THE FOOD QUEST Kurakun

226 (a black insect that is found on certain plants in the bush, I think
 [825] a species of ant). You must also get some leaves of the *papara* tree.
 [824] (This tree grows only in the heart of the bush, involving a journey
 of considerable length to obtain it.) These leaves you must get at
 night, and you must not eat any food for some time before going
 out to get them.

226 Then take a branch of the *wakalō* tree and plant it upright on the
 824 shore. Take some leaves of *wanep* (a plant with red leaves) and
 some *magor* (see p. 475) and areca-nut. Chew all these together,
 put all the other leaves, and the *kurakun*, into a bundle, spit the
 mixture into it, and tie it up, leaving the ends of the leaves hang-
 ing out.

226 Give this bundle to another man to hold. Then say:

'Rēs ma atlin, no ma atlin se no bībīr ma.
 'Catch (imper.) bonito, come bonito let come plenty.

Rēs ma atlin, se no ma en wānu pio.
 Catch bonito, let come to village my.'

Then put the bundle of leaves into a hole in the reef, at a certain
 place. For Kurtatchi the appointed place is on the shore just below
 the village which is on the top of the cliff. It is called Kaur. Women
 are not allowed to go near this place. A man takes the bundle and
 pushes it down into the hole; this will make the bonito come to
 the surface of the water. A number of men watch while this is
 being done; meanwhile some of them imitate the movements and
 [825] cries of the birds that follow the bonito. The names of these birds
 are *kira*, *pupulug*, *butuana*, and *aulas*. (*Aulas* is the frigate-bird;
 I think the others are gulls.)

The men then wash in the water near the place where the bundle
 has been sunk. This is done at night. Some men call out:

'Di a mon, atlin to en non.'
 'Bring out canoe, bonito are feeding.'

Then the men dive into the hole, and get stones and fasten down
 the bundle, so that the sea will not carry it away. Then you must
 fix a time when the bonito are to come, say five days. During that
 time you must not go to work, but must stay in your own village;
 you must not go to another village even for a visit, and you must
 not eat in any hut except your own.

When the time fixed comes, the bonito will be there, and the
 men get out their canoe. You must not go in the canoe, you must

THE FOOD QUEST

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with one hand while held between the first and second finger of the other. The word for making string by twisting thus is *sē*. The string is made in all the villages of Buka and the north coast of Bougainville. The village of Hanahan has a reputation for making the finest nets. 227
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Both string-making and netting are occupations for men only. In making a net, one end is tied to a pole or some convenient object, often the ridge-pole of a hut, and the netting is done from side to side across the width of the net, with the help of a netting needle consisting of a piece of cane about a foot long, split at both ends. The string is wound round this and the whole needle is pushed through the mesh. A short flat piece of cane is used as a gauge. The knot is similar to that used in our own fishing-nets. [462]

The frame (*éviat*) is of bamboo, a stout cane for the proximal end, with a smaller cane lashed to it at its distal end; this may be followed by a still smaller one, till the required length is obtained. When the net is fixed, the distal end of the frame is pulled over into a curve. The distal end is fixed first, the string at the outer edge of the net being caught in a slit at the end of the frame. The other corners of the net are tied on to the frame (Fig. 13a). In the larger nets a separate piece of bamboo fixed at an angle to the main part of the frame supports the proximal end (Fig. 13b). Some men also make small nets in the same way, and add a handle (Fig. 13c). To fix a net on to the frame is *nui u ēb*. It is done just before starting out on a trip; the nets are then placed in the canoe frame downwards, with the proximal ends protruding from one end of the canoe. On returning, the net is at once removed from the frame and stretched on branches or on the beach to dry; the frame, released from its curve, is put up in the lower branches of a tree. 227
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These nets are used in pairs. They vary greatly in size; a large pair will be as much as a man can lift. I have seen quite young boys using small pairs. The longest net, used for deep-sea fishing, is called *kabir*; many kinds of fish are caught by it. The names of some of them, in the Kurtatchi dialect, are *aunots*, *susui*, *metapusi*, *tamaget*, *nomno*, *mutul*, the last being described as a very large fish (about 4 feet long, as indicated by a gesture) with a square mouth. Another long net is called *kakawi*, and is used especially for catching *bari* (mullet) on the reef. [825] •

Fishing with the *ēb* is carried on either by a number of canoes working in conjunction, or by single canoes, in which one man 226

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and turned back so that they are somewhat shorter than the central leaf. Any gaps between these two and the central leaf or the outside leaves are filled in by stitching on separate small pieces of leaf. The whole is strengthened by three pieces of thin cane laid horizontally across the breadth of the kite, one at each end and one about a third of the way from the narrower end. The ends of the three mid-ribs are brought together in a point and securely fastened. The shape of the kite can best be seen from the illustration (Pl. 44). A typical specimen measures $34\frac{1}{2}$ inches along the central mid-rib to the end of the body (the tips project $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches beyond this), and $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches across at the top of the body. 227

The kite is flown by means of native fibre-string. It trails a lure of spider's web tangle (species not yet identified), collected in the bush by twirling a forked stick in places where the tangle stretches over the underbrush, till a thick mass of it is twisted round the stick. This is taken off and pressed into a wad about 3 inches long and half an inch thick, which is tied on to the end of the tail string, and played on the surface of the water by the movements of the kite. It serves both as lure and hook, the teeth of the garfish being caught in it. 825

This method of fishing is used only for taking garfish (*sosoa*, P.) of which there are two kinds, one much larger and more highly esteemed than the other. 226

Method of use. Outrigger canoes are used, generally small ones, as a man will frequently go out single-handed, though two may go together. There should be a little wind, but not too much, and the fish bite better if the sun is shining and the tide low. The bait is released first, and is towed behind the canoe for a few moments; then the fisherman releases the kite, which keeps the bait moving just on the surface of the water. The kite-string is held in the fisherman's teeth, leaving his hands free to paddle the canoe; occasionally he uses one hand to pull in or let out the string. When a fish bites, he pulls the kite in first and puts it in the boat, then he hauls in the fish, its teeth fast in the tangle. He bends it double just behind its head, and puts a finger and thumb on each side of its head at the edge of its long mouth, thus wrenching the mouth open and pulling off the tangle (Pl. 45). This photograph was taken from the other end of the canoe). The tangle is used again and again till it is torn to shreds.

Magical procedure connected with kite-fishing. When a new kite

226 off the branch into the water and deftly push the bottom of the *ovu* together with their feet, enclosing the fish.

I did not see anything resembling the *ovu* in the Bougainville villages, but they have very little shore accessible to them on which they could use such an appliance.

9. *Thorn-lined trap.*

226 There is also in use in these islands a fish-trap made of the leaf-
227 stems of a thorny vine of the *Calamus* species, fastened, roughly
[824] in the shape of an elongated cone, on to a piece of wood pointed
at the other end, by means of which it is fixed in position (Pl. 43).
The cone is strengthened with two circles of cane. The thorns are
set point inwards, to prevent the fish from getting out. I have not
seen this method practised, but a specimen of the trap was pro-
cured for me by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan.
I am indebted to Mr. Thomas also for the following particulars
concerning it. The trap is called *lamlam* in the Pororan dialect
(which is very similar to that used on Petats). The thorny vine of
which it is constructed is called *kakul*. The trap is baited with
ureta (*la'ut*). The pointed end of the stick is set in the sand at diving
depth or wedged between rocks at an acute angle, with the bait at
the apex of the cone, and the top part of the trap is covered with
certain kinds of leaves (*karian*) leaving nothing but the mouth
showing. It is used exclusively by men. The fish usually caught
by it are a red fish (*taulö*) and a spotted rock-fish (*sinai*). It 'belongs
to the olden days' and is not much used now.

171 *Distribution.* It has been pointed out by H. Balfour that the
227 thorn-lined fish-trap occurs in the same areas as the fishing kite
(*Man*, 1925, No. 21, and 1932, No. 77), and that 'owing to its
almost completely linked-up distribution, it affords one of the most
convincing chains of concrete evidence helping to prove an affinity
between the culture of the Naga Hills at one end of the range, and
Melanesian culture at the other end' (1925, p. 37).

10. *Stunning and Poisoning.*

226 The natives use a preparation for stunning fish, made from
824 the plant called *t/ä*, a climbing plant growing up the trunks of
trees, to which it attaches itself by means of suckers. To prepare
it, the root of the plant must be taken from underground; the
suckers attached to the trunk of the tree will not do. These roots
are pounded into pulp with a stone. A handful of the pulp is taken

342 of the *toan*, and every one manifests great anxiety till they are pronounced suitably placed (Pl. 55 b).

[824] Thin, flexible strips of the wood of a tree called *ariko* are prepared; the upper end of each is split and inserted into a second strip, forming an arch. This arch is lifted by a man at each end of it and fitted over the *pa'i*, so that the apex of the arch, formed by the crossed split ends, rests on the ridge-pole (Pl. 56 a). These form the rafters (*wahwal* or *tartaras*) to which the thatch is to be fixed. They are tied firmly to the top of the *oror*. After a single pair has been put on in front, another at the back, and one at the level of each row of house-posts, the others are put on in groups of ten or more. Laths (*papom*) are then laid along the length of the house, and each of these rafters is tied to every lath separately, where they cross each other, by means of a tough fibre taken from the inner bark of a tree called *ripto*. The fibre is passed over the top, up from below, and over the top again, the ends being tucked under. A large house will have six laths on each side. The one nearest the ridge-pole is fixed first, then the next below it, and so on. The lowest one has to hold the lower ends of the rafters down over the edge of the walls; it is difficult to fix owing to the amount of spring in the rafters, which are held taut with logs rolled against their free ends while they are being tied on to the lowest pair of laths a little higher up. The ends are left projecting, but are cut straight, leaving enough to overlap the walls about 6 inches. Another *pa'i* is laid upon the crossed ends of the rafters where they rest upon the ridge-pole, and tied down to it by fibre twisted round between the rafters. This is finally covered by a piece of bark or by a matting made by plaiting together the fronds of two coco-nut palm leaves, forming the apex of the roof.

[824] The house is now ready to be thatched. The thatch is made of the leaves of the sago palm. In some places, where sago palm is scarce, the long, narrow leaves of a species of river reed (*manob*) are used instead. The sago-palm leaves are brought to the village tied in great bundles. When required for use, the mid-rib is first removed, and leaves are then folded over a long strip of bamboo, generally two, sometimes three, together. A slit is then made through all the layers just below the cane by means of a pointed implement made of the bone of a porpoise or a dugong. These are preferred to European knives, which are liable to split the leaves too far. Holding open the slit by means of the same im-

Origin of fire.

372 Two distinct stories of the origin of fire are found in this area,
 773 each with several minor local differences. I give in full one told
 531 by Maravin, an old man of Kurtatchi.

Once people had no fire, they ate taro that was dried in the sun. When the sun rose they put the taro in the sunlight and the sun burned it, the taro dried. When the people came home from work they ate the taro that had been drying in the sun. When they went to work they said to a woman: 'You look after the place; if it rains you bring the taro inside the house.' The woman turned the taro. The people came home and ate it; then they slept, and slept, and slept. When dawn came they peeled some more taro and put it into a basket, and put the basket in the sun. Then they said to the old woman: 'You take care of the village and the taro.' Then they went to work.

● [825] Now a little bird, *wowo'ia* (a small bird that we like to eat because it has a lot of fat), was on a tree in the taro garden. Its excrement was fire. It dropped some excrement, it fell on the leaves of the tree and they flared up. Now one of the women, who was weeding in the garden, saw the smoke, and called out to a little boy: 'You go and see what that is over there, something is light, it looks like something good, presently we will cook our food at it. The boy said: 'Mamma, you come and look, it is something very good.' He took a banana and put it on the fire, the fire cooked it. Then he said: 'Oh, this is something to cook our food with.' Then he ate some of the banana, and gave some to his mother. 'Oh, you eat this banana, it is good.' 'Yes, presently we will cook our food with this thing.'

Then they went to the village, and took the fire with them. It lit up the road as they went. They went to the village, and asked all the women: 'Where is your taro?' 'It is up in the rafters.' Then they went and cooked it in their house, they lit a fire. They said to the people: 'Here is something to cook our food with.' They all cried out: 'What is it?' 'It is fire, I cooked a banana with it, it tasted very good, it was not strong.' 'Come on, let's try with some taro in a pot.' The pot boiled. Then they took a basket and emptied out the taro; then they ate it. 'This thing makes our food very good. When the sun cooks it, the taro is strong, when the fire cooks it, it is very good.'

Then they gave fire to every place, and all the people asked them: 'Where did you get it?' 'I got it from a bird, it is the bird's excrement.' 'What bird?' '*Wowo'ia*.'

372 At Saposa they say that Morena, who gave them all their know-
 773 ledge, took the outer shell of a coco-nut and laid it in the palm of
 her hand; she stretched her hand out towards a bird; the bird

AESTHETIC ARTS

304 430

226 yards west of the site of the present village. A big stone called
784 *Musoa banui* marks the place.

304 When the cutting is finished, the skin is first washed, then lime
752 is rubbed in. *Tanek* (betel-pepper) is chewed and spat upon the
824 place. Then a dry coco-nut is scraped, and a pinch of the scraped
meat is taken between the finger and thumb of the operator and
dabbed on to the sores. This is to make the scab of the sore come off
so that it will not fester underneath. If the sore becomes septic,
coco-nut oil is rubbed into it, and pith from the stem of the plant
rurupari. If the cuts are made too deep, they 'break open the belly'
and the child dies. The names of two Kurtatchi children who had
died in this way were given to me.

304 When one child is finished, the man who has held his head takes
852 him on his shoulder and goes round and round while all the women
kōma and the slit-gong is beaten. The child is then taken into the
house and another brought out.

304 After all the children have been cut there is a small feast. One
852 pig is set aside for it, and the women prepare taro. The food is
574 distributed among those present; they all eat; then the platform is
taken up by the men and brought into the hut.

304 After the operation is finished, the children must stop inside the
852 house for ten days, only coming out to relieve themselves. The
girls must put on their hoods whenever they come out for this pur-
● [825] pose. If they do not, or if children of either sex walk about too
much, white ants will get into the sores and make them very
painful. A girl who is cut about the thighs is so sore that she
cannot bear to wear a loin-cloth, but goes naked.

As a rule, several children are cut at one time, both boys and
girls. Naniu, Tapē, Bori, Puta, and Tawar were all cut together.
This indicates that the ages vary considerably, since Maniu and
Tawar are now, I estimate, about 9 or 10, Bori about 19, and
Tapē and Puta somewhat older than Bori. It is best to have the
operation done when the child is young. Some are cut much later
and are sometimes made very ill by it.

304 The effect of the operation can be seen from the photographs
(Pls. 69, 70). Not infrequently the wounds become septic and heal
badly, with results which we should think very disfiguring, but
which do not seem to be so considered by the natives, though they
are not admired as much as well-marked patterns. By no means
extreme cases of badly healed cicatrization are shown in Pl. 71.

MAGIC AND MEDICINE

467

stage has been reached, he will then collect the *kobol* and proceed to the house of the patient. Entering, he fastens the door, and gives the *kobol* to the patient, who drinks the mixture. The two of them then go outside the house and the "doctor-man" obtains the leaf of a native vine *pahu*. Biting off a portion himself he gives another portion to the patient, and the two masticate the leaf, mixing it with betel-nut; chewing and spitting out the masticated juices. The two then re-enter the house, and a *pahu* leaf is hung up inside the house in such a position as to hang near the face of the patient when he is sleeping. The patient goes to bed and sleeps. In his sleep he dreams that he is endeavouring to find the man who gave him the poison, but a spirit visits him in his dream and prevents him from seeing the man; explaining to him that he has not been poisoned at all. In the morning the "doctor-man" inquires of the patient as to what he has seen during the night. "I saw no man who had poisoned me" replies the patient, or words to that effect. "I am well now, I have not been poisoned, for the spirit told me so." The patient then makes a speedy recovery.

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Other forms of harmful magic. There are milder forms of harmful magic which are not considered in the same light as 'making poison', but as legitimate methods of punishing some one who has done you an injury. These were told to me in the course of discussions on the use of various plants for medicinal purposes. There was no secret about them, and they were clearly regarded in the same light as any other 'prescriptions'.

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If a thief persistently steals your taro.

Scrape to a powder the bones of a crocodile, and bury some of this powder (*mesopini*) on the road to the taro garden, where the thief will walk over it. When you know that he has done so, take up the package and burn it. The thief will get a bad sore on his leg.

[825]

For a man stealing coco-nuts.

Take some leaves of the shrub *ruupari*, put them into a young coco-nut which has been emptied of its milk through the eye. Lay this on the ground in the coco-nut grove. Chew the root of the same shrub with the betel-mixture, spit on some dead branches and throw them down where the coco-nut is. When the thief comes into the grove his belly will become very painful, so that he cries out. He will not be able to walk, but will crawl home and lie down in his house. Then you must watch till the tide comes in, and then plug up the hole in the shell of the young coco-nut. This makes the thief short of breath, and he stays at

[824]

MAGIC AND MEDICINE

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cussing them, as was the case with any practices savouring of 'poison'. 789

WAR MAGIC

Fighting is for these people a thing of the past, and I did not make it a subject of special investigation. The following scraps of war magic, which came my way incidentally, are perhaps worth placing on record. 726 789

To make a war canoe go fast. (Petats.)

Catch an *arori* (a special kind of snake) and cut off about three inches of its tail (length shown by gestures). Put this in the bottom of the *mon* and fix it there with putty nut. It must remain there always. You must let the snake go. It soon grows another tail. [825]

This is only for *mon* used in fighting. It makes the canoe outrun all the others and catch up with the enemy. It is not done to *mon* used for bonito fishing. There are no words used in this medicine.

The following account of preparations for an attack, and the capture of a prisoner, was given by Pinari, himself an old warrior, who had, as was obvious from the way in which he told it, himself often taken part in such raids.

'When our people went to fight in the olden days they would first prepare *wiriako*. To do this you take some lime, and the tip of an ear of a *tsunam* belonging to the enemy, whom you killed in another fight, and a bit of his eyelashes, and a bit of his pubic hair. Put these into a leaf with the lime, and make a bundle of it. This is powerful medicine belonging to the *war*. Get leaves of *kiwar* and hang them down the backs of the men who are going to fight. [826] [824]

'When you are ready to go out to fight, the man who understands about the *wiriako* undoes the packet, takes a pinch between his finger and thumb, puts it to his lips, and blows it in the direction of the enemy, calling out:

"*Pah! Gun ma ti si nom ini!*"

Exclam. "Get (*imperative*) man that (he) come here."

He beckons with one hand, holding the packet of *wiriako* with the other hand, and says:

"*Di ma ia! Di ma ti si nom ini!*"

"Fetch him! Fetch man that (he) come here!"

'Then the spirit (*abtn*) of the man comes and enters the packet of *wiriako*. The man in charge of the packet binds it carefully and

524 OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING

775 is this *urar*?' 'I don't know where he is.' 'All right, by and by we will
 53A all go and paddle.' Another day some of the other people saw the *urar*,
 they saw him turn into a shark and into a *kitat5*; then they knew that
 what the man had told them was true.

775 My attention was first drawn to these transformations of *urar*
 776 into animals in connexion with discussions on death, and it is quite
 172 clear that this power is ascribed to the ghosts of people who have
 died and become *urar*. But while listening to tales dealing with
 similar transformations in the course of an evening's story-telling,
 I noticed that some of these beings did not seem to be regarded
 with quite the same intensity of fear and dread that was associated
 with the ghosts of the dead, although the same word, *urar*, was
 used. Furthermore, in translating these stories into pidgin-English,
 the word *maselai* was used in some cases, whereas the pidgin-
 English term for the ghost of a dead person is *tamboran*. When I
 inquired into this distinction, my informants were very vague in
 their replies, insisting that both were *urar*. Then my servant, who
 was present at the discussion, told me that in the Petats dialect they
 used different words, *amat* for the spirit of a person who had died,
 which he gave as the equivalent to the pidgin-English *tamboran*,
 and *halelehan* for the other spirits who were called in pidgin-English
maselai. It would seem, therefore, as if there really were two kinds
 of spirits, one kind consisting of the ghosts of dead persons, and
 the other of spirits who had never been men, though the distinction
 is somewhat blurred in the use of the same word for both kinds in
 the Kurtatchi dialect. Perhaps the natives are not very clear about
 it themselves, for whenever I asked them to explain what they meant
 by *urar* I was always told that it was a person who had died a long
 time ago. Since returning home, I have discovered that the same
 dual meaning is attached to the word *adaro* at San Cristoval and
 to the word *akalo* at Ulawa and Mala (Fox, 1924, p. 107), which
 corroborates the evidence given above.

- 775 Among the spirits which are called *urar* but should perhaps
 776 (though I am not certain as to this) not be considered as the ghosts
 of persons who have died, there are apparently included certain
 • 825 *urar* who, in the form of animals, are associated with individual
 602 men or women in a manner rather difficult to define, but con-
 stituting a bond which is clearly recognized. Such an individual
 claims that the *urar*-creature is 'my kinsman' (*boan5*), that it will
 come at his call, and at his bidding will assist him, or his friends,

GHOSTS AND SPIRITS

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or will desist from harming them. This association is reported with sharks, snakes, and crocodiles, there may be other creatures of which I have no record. Only a few individuals stand in this relationship. They may be either men or women; they are known by their fellow villagers to have influence over the creatures with which they are associated, and are sometimes asked to use this influence upon their *war*-kinsmen in the public interest, being paid in ceremonial currency for their intervention. Conversely, they will interfere on behalf of their *war*-kinsmen when occasion arises. A few examples will serve to illustrate this relationship.

A crocodile was caught in a dam which was set up to catch fish. A man who was kin to the crocodile came and said that it was not to be killed, because it was his kinsman, but must be allowed to go back into the sea. so the fishermen broke their dam and let the water in and the crocodile escaped.

Some snakes were eating a man who had got lost in the bush belonging to the snake *war*. A man who was kin to the snakes went to look for the missing man, and when he saw what was happening he called out to the snakes: 'Why are you doing harm to this man? He is not a stranger, he is a friend of mine, you must loose him and go away.' So the snakes let go of the man and went away.¹

There was a woman who was kin to the *war* who lived in a certain part of the sea. She asked to be taken in a canoe to visit her kinsmen. The canoe-men did not understand, they thought she wanted to visit her human kinsmen. Ceremonial pudding and other food was prepared, and they set out with the woman, and went straight to this part of the sea. Then the woman said to the men: 'All right, you stop the canoe just here.' So they stopped the canoe. The men said: 'Where do you want to go?' She said: 'Just here,' and pointed straight down into the water. Then the woman took the food and threw it into the sea. All the men looked, the food disappeared, it was lost. Then the woman jumped into the sea. She went down altogether. She had no paint on her hair, and wore no ornaments. The men waited for her, she did not come up. They all cried, they thought she was lost altogether, they were sorry about her. They waited for her a long time, then she came back. She did not come up in the sea, she came up on the shore. She came up with a woman's pack on her back, it was full of pieces of pig she had been given in the place of the *war*, and they had put paint on her hair

¹ A very similar but more detailed story which I obtained from another village is given in full in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1932, p. 86).

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775 and given her ornaments. The men took her again into the canoe and
 776 went back to the village. All the people of the village came and asked
 825 her: 'Where have you been?' She did not want to tell them, but they
 602 kept on asking her, they gave her no peace. At last she said: 'If you
 539 look behind you, you will see all my kinsmen coming up.' Then all the
 kinsmen of the woman came up on to the sand near the village. They
 were all sharks. (Here the teller explained that they were *urar* who had
 turned into sharks.) Then the woman said to the people of the village:
 'All right, you people come to the shore, come and see my kinsmen.'
 Then they all went to look, then they understood. Then the woman sent
 all the sharks away again. She said to them: 'All right, you people go back
 now, I only wanted to show you to all the men who kept asking me about
 you, they never stopped asking me, but I did not want to talk about it,
 so I called you all to show you to the men.'

775 The man who told me this said afterwards: 'This woman was not
 776 an *urar*, she was a real person. I have seen the place where it
 602 happened; the man belonging to the place, who told me about it,
 825 said she was a relative of his, and he used to eat at her house.'

614 In most of the cases of this kind of association which came under
 my notice, it had been inherited from some relative belonging to
 the same clan, and its possessor did not know how it had originated.
 In one or two instances, however, the connexion between an
 individual and a shark was traced back to an ancestor who bore a
 child in the shape of a shark. Togen (a middle-aged man belonging
 to the village of Timputs, but living at Kurtatchi since his marriage
 to one of the daughters of the *tsunaun*), after telling me a story
 concerning a woman who bore a shark-child,¹ added that his own
 shark was called Muwatskawits, and lived at Timputs: 'My grand-
 mother (*tubunē*, used for an actual grandparent or for any ancestor
 farther back) bore it a long time ago.' If a shark from another place
 wants to eat any of Togen's people at Timputs, Muwatskawits
 chases him away, and says: 'You must not eat my children. I don't
 want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you.'

775 It seems a fair inference, from the use of the word *boanē* to
 776 describe this relationship, that the creature is considered to be a
 825 member of the same clan as that of the individual associated with
 602 it (see the discussion of this term on p. 33). I did not find any
 614 indications that certain animals were associated only with persons
 of any given clan, e.g. sharks with Naboin or crocodiles with
 Nakarib. It seems to be a purely personal association, but in trans-

¹ This story is given in my paper in *Folk-lore* (1933, p. 83).

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ferring the creature to some one else when at the point of death, the individual apparently chooses a relative belonging to the same clan as himself; this would be natural if the shark were thought to have been born to an ancestor, as in the case of Togen just quoted. They appear to be definitely associated with persons rather than with places, and so differ from the 'tutelary sharks' described by Ivens (1927, p. 230, &c.). Neither do they correspond exactly to the 'familiar' as described on Ulawa by Ivens (p. 239) and on San Cristoval by Fox (1924, p. 231), for they do not bear the name of the person who is associated with them neither do they die when the man dies. Ivens makes mention of 'incarnations' of the dead as sharks, swordfish, crocodiles, megapodes, &c. (p. 187), but he does not indicate whether any association with these is claimed by living individuals.

ASSOCIATION OF URAR WITH STONES

As well as the association of *urar* with places, described in previous paragraphs, there is a much more intimate connexion between certain *urar* and particular stones or rocks, the locality and names of which are known to all. The *urar* is not supposed merely to inhabit the stone, or the stone to belong to the *urar*, but the two are completely identified, so that the *urar* is the stone. Associated with many such stones is the belief that at night they again become *urar*, or in some cases human beings, and walk about, or go fishing, or dance.

Where the origin of the connexion between the *urar* and the stone is given, the *urar* is certainly thought to be the ghost of a person who has died; but as in many cases no explanation of the identification was forthcoming, I am not able to say whether this holds true of all. In illustration of this belief may be cited the following:

Two women died and became *urar*. Their name was Kakenmon. (The name seems to belong to the two of them together.) Two children went looking for hermit crabs in holes; the two *urar* stole the children, and took them away. The father of the two children lit a fire and made smoke to drive the *urar* away. Now they are stones, they are on the beach at Rana, two stones, two women, the name of the two stones is Kakenmon. At night they are *urar*, and play on the shore; when the sun rises they become stones again.

A man died and was thrown into the sea. His body came to the surface and drifted, and was caught under some mangroves. Some men who

three generations ago, according to the statements of local inhabitants. According to tradition these little islands were inhabited by light-skinned natives who were slain by the immigrants. Nowadays traces of these earlier inhabitants are still to be found in the form of ax blades made of tridacna shell, which now and then are discovered by the present inhabitants when they are turning the soil. These ax blades bear the greatest similarity to blades of the same material from the Fead, Mortlock and Ongtong Java Islands. Hence it may probably be assumed that the original population was very closely related to the present-day inhabitants of the above-mentioned island groups. On Nissan I sought in vain for such vestiges. The population there is rather numerous and keeps up active relations with Buka. A mixture of various tribes, to be sure, is noticeable, but it can be explained by the fact that there exists an annual connection with the St. John Islands (Wonneram), which is inhabited by people from south New Mecklenburg [New Ireland], via Green Island (Pinepil), situated not far from Nissan--a connection that has left noticeable traces, both ethnographic as well as anthropological, on Wonneram as well as Nissan. (Cf. R. Parkinson, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Deutschen Schutzgebietes in der Südsee [Contributions to the Knowledge of the German Protectorate in the South Sea], SA. a. d. Mitth. Geogr. Ges. Hamburg [reprint from Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg] 1887-1888, Number 3, pages 72-75; the same in IAE., Vol. X, 1897, page 109.)

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numerous observations made on the spot, as well as information received from Buka and Bougainville Islanders who were under my

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by other strips of rattan laid over the notch. It was not difficult to demonstrate the method with a piece of rattan. It is identical with the binding that I described from the Emperor Range. It seems accordingly that this method of fastening the ax blades is typical for middle Bougainville, north Bougainville, Buka and Nissan. 411
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[27] We find a similar mode of fastening the ax blades again in the French Islands, on Cape Villaumez and at the south cape of New Pomerania, but a description of these objects is outside the realm of my present purposes.

I believe that in the preceding material I have given an exhaustive description of all stone ax blades occurring in the northwestern Solomon Islands; in any case I nowhere succeeded--despite the most careful inquiry--in finding other types. In Bougainville the demand for iron axes is especially great, and in a few years stone axes will have fallen completely into disuse there; the chance that led to me a few stone blades in their original condition may not be so favorable to later travelers. This is my excuse for the somewhat longwinded explanation of how I succeeded in clarifying this highly interesting method of binding, which deviates so radically from all other types.

Although stone axes unquestionably were used also as weapons in hand-to-hand combat--and still are in the interior of Bougainville--it is beyond doubt that they served primarily as artisan's tools. In this capacity they have been replaced for the most part by iron tools today--even in the inland villages, which maintain active relations with the coastal inhabitants and procure their requirements there.

On the small islands at the northwest end of Bougainville I saw numerous rows of cyprina shells which are found in the mangrove swamps. They serve as a medium of exchange in commerce with the mountain people. The latter use them as cutting and scraping instruments when they are making arrows, spears, bows, etc. In certain spots I have seen sharpened boar's teeth used as scrapers in the manufacture of wooden objects. Special types of coral serve as rasps for planing wooden boards. Sharpened oyster shells, which formerly were used as knives, have now been almost completely replaced by knives. 412
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Whetstones of hard dark stone, which were formerly used for sharpening the stone blades, can be found everywhere; smaller whetstones made of a brown fine-grained stone--about the size of a hand--serve for sharpening smaller objects like fishhooks, etc.; today they are used for whetting knives and ax blades. 412

On north Bougainville I repeatedly observed a multi-pronged arrow; 226
the points attached to the arrowshaft, which were arranged after the 227
fashion of the well-known fishing spears, consisted of 4 to 6 very
sharp and pointed bamboo splinters. The owners of these arrows
were inhabitants of the interior; I assume that the arrow is used
principally in the rivers and water courses in the interior since I never
observed it among the coastal inhabitants.

North Bougainville and Buka have one fishing method that is not [171]
found in the south: namely, fishing by means of artificial weir
baskets. These weir baskets (in Buka: fwou) are made from the leaf
ribs of the coconut palm; they are 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and conical
in shape; the lower circular opening measures up to [35] one meter
in diameter. The leaf ribs lie close together and are firmly attached
at intervals of 5 to 10 centimeters; only the upper ends have no con-
nection for a length of 15 to 25 centimeters. When using it, one in-
serts into the upper end a little ring of tough wood (in Buka: fapirik).
This ring is fastened to a straight stick about 25 to 30 centimeters long by
means of four thinner rods which run from its edge to the middle. The
ring is used to make the weir basket taut; the projecting ends at the
top of the basket are attached to the central rod by means of a string,
and this keeps the entire implement taut. This weir basket is often
used in shallow water; the fisherman holds the upper and pointed end
in his hand and drops the open lower end over the fish to be caught.

In the narrow drains of the mangrove swamps the fish are caught
by means of fish dams; these are made in the following way: between
and on sticks which, at a distance of about 1 meter from each other,
are stuck in the ground diagonally across the course of the water, a
wicker work of coconut leaves is fastened, so that when the water
level falls the fish are blocked off from the sea.

It goes without saying that all the fish caught in the sea are also 262
used as food. Sea cucumbers, cuttlefish, snails and mollusks of
every description find their way into the cooking pot. The native [825]•
can exactly distinguish the poisonous fish--and their number is not
slight--from the unharmed ones. Sharks and dolphins are considered
delicacies, but there is no special catching apparatus for them; spear
and arrow are the main weapons used. As a rule they sneak up on 225
tortoises on the small islands and sandbanks when the animals visit
them to lay their eggs; many a tortoise who is resting on the surface
of the sea is also killed by spear.

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539 over Bas, and scalded his skin, so that it came up in blisters. That is why the iguana has a rough skin like a crocodile. Bas wriggled and wriggled, and at last he broke the rope and ran away into the bush.

Ever since then, every time an iguana finds the bush fowl's eggs he eats them, and if he finds little chickens he eats them too, but he can't catch the fowls themselves because they fly up into the trees and get away from him.

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539 The version was given to me in Pidgin English by Jiapin, a
171 young man of Petats. I have another, rather less detailed, from Sakwan of Pororan, and others from Kurtatchi.

A similar incident is given by Seligman in his story of "The Lizard and the Bird" (*Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 411) from the Southern Massim, Wamira, Goodenough Bay. In this case the story ends by the bird eating the lizard, and nothing is said about the lizard's skin.

CLASS VI. ANIMAL ASSOCIATION STORIES.

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With reference to the human behaviour of the animals in stories of the preceding class, it seems pretty clear that the natives look on it in much the same light as we regard, let us say, the behaviour of "The Three Bears". But there is a variety of animal stories behind which lies much more than this. In addition to their clan totems, these natives recognise a personal association with certain creatures, by means of which some, but by no means all, persons exercise a measure of control over the creature thus connected with them, and may command it to do their bidding, or call upon it to refrain from injuring them or their friends. The conception is similar, I think, to that described by Ivens⁷ as existing in the S.E. Solomons between a man and his "familiar". To go into this subject in detail would take us beyond the bounds of folk-lore, but the stories which

⁷ W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands*, (London, 1927), pp. 238 ff.

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follow will serve to illustrate the relationship referred to, ⁵³⁸
 as it is conceived by the natives of North Bougainville. ⁸²⁵ ●

The Shark-child.

A man had connection with his wife. She was a young ⁵³⁹
 woman. She became pregnant. He thought she was ⁸²⁵
 carrying a child. Her time drew near. The child was born.
 She did not bear a real child, she bore a shark. It was born.
 The woman's mother thought she had borne a human child.
 She wanted to see it. She saw it, it was a shark. "What
 is that you have borne? It is a shark, belonging to the
 salt-water." They went and fetched some sea water, they
 poured it into a *kobu* (receptacle made of the fibrous sheath ¹¹⁵
 of the areca palm, much used by the natives for carrying ⁴⁸²
 and other purposes). They took the woman's shark-child,
 they put him inside. He stood up in the water. He stayed
 in the water, he grew big in the water. All the people did
 not know about him, only the woman's kinsfolk knew.
 Now he grew big. They made a feast for him. The woman's
 kinsfolk showed him to all the people. Some of the women
 said: "Let us go and look at the woman's child." They
 all said: "He isn't a real child, the woman has borne a
 shark." They all went and made him stand up at the
 bottom of a river. He stayed there, he did not leave the
 river. He made himself a house on the sand. When they
 made a feast, they took a piece of pig, they went and called
 out for the shark, and gave him the piece of pig. They cut
 the shark's skin. They made him stand up again.

The teller here explained that they cut a pattern on the
 shark's skin just like the pattern cut on his own chest.
 (These natives cut elaborate patterns on various parts of ³⁰⁴
 their bodies, rubbing lime into them so that the scars remain
 permanently.) He said that his own shark was called
Muwatskawits, it lived at Timputs, his *tubune* bore it a
 long time ago. The term *tubune* is used for an ancestor, of

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539 either sex, further back than, and including, a grandparent.
 ●825 Then he told the following story.

Muwatskawits and his kinsman.

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227] All the men went to catch *inang* (very small fish, which are boiled to make a kind of soup) with *auna* (nets having a specially fine mesh). They caught *inang*. Muwatskawits came close up to their legs all the time. My grandfather (*tubune*) Tchiabuin was angry with him. "Don't come up all the time round our legs. You must not bite the legs of all these men." Muwatskawits came up underneath Tchiabuin between his legs, and picked him up. He did not eat him, he played with him, he carried him without hurting him. He went inside his hole. He went, he talked, and said: "You look at my bed, I want to show you my place." He called out to all his children: "You fellows come up, so that my kinsman can see all my children." He showed him everything, then he brought him back to the shore just opposite the place where our people are buried. He (*i.e.* Tchiabuin) went ashore. He said: "Muwatskawits caught me in the water, he showed me his house, and his bed, and all his children." They all made a feast for him, they caught a pig, they washed my grandfather's skin, all [184] the women got salt-water and poured it over his legs. (This is the custom when anyone returns safely from a long journey.) The shark came up, he went and lay on the sand. My grandfather ran with a piece of the pig and gave it to him.

Now if a shark from another place wants to eat us, Muwatskawits chases him and kills him, so that he dies. "You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you."

[115] These stories were told me by Togen, a middle-aged man living at Kurtatchi but originally from Timputs, a village some twenty-five miles further along the coast in an easterly direction.

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In view of the anthropological importance of this connection between men and animals, I will add another illustration, this time dealing with a snake. ⁵³⁹
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The Snakes and their Victim.

The men went to dam the river (in order to fish). One man asked them: "Where are you going?" The men said: "We are going to dam the river. What about you, are you going to stay here?" "No, I will go with you. You wait for me, I will go and get my net." They all went. One man went and hung up all his taro on the branch of a tree. They all made a dam across the river. The river dried up. They all took their nets and caught all the fish. They finished catching fish. They said they would go back to the village. The man thought he would go and get his taro. He looked for it, it was all gone. He thought the other men had eaten it. He called the men in vain, they had not eaten it. A spirit had eaten it, the spirit belonging to this river.⁸ The name of the river is Tikiwir, (it is near Timputis). He asked all the men, they said: "No, we did not eat your taro. You be careful to ask all the men." He asked all the men. All the men said together: "No, we did not eat it." All the men went to the village. The man took all his fish, he gave it to his brother, he said to him: "Brother, give all my fish to my wife, go fast to the village." They all went to the village. This man did not go. He did not stay for nothing, the spirit held him fast.

He talked to his brother: "You go first, I will get some areca nut for us both." Then he went, he climbed up an areca palm belonging to the spirit. He climbed, he wanted to get some areca nut. The spirit went up behind him, up

⁸ I have this story in Pidgin English only, so I cannot give the native word here translated "spirit". The Pidgin English word used is "masalai" which usually means a super-natural being other than a spirit of a dead person, the Pidgin English word for which is generally *lambova*. But sometimes the two seem to be used interchangeably. [198]

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531 the areca palm. The spirit was in the form of a snake. One
 825 man said to him: "Here, look, come down." The man
 looked, he started to come down, he saw the snake coming
 up behind him. The snake had two heads. The man was
 frightened. "How am I to come down? I think this thing
 will kill me." He thought it was just one snake that was
 coming up behind him, he did not know there were a lot of
 snakes at the root of the tree. He said: "I think I shall
 jump. Where is there a good place for me to jump down?"
 He looked about to find a clear place. The spirit-snake had
 long hair, just like a boy with an *upi*.⁹ The man jumped
 down in the midst of all the snakes. All the snakes went
 inside the man. The man died.

All the men waited a long time for the man to come to
 the village, his wife, his father, his mother, his brother.
 They said: "He went to get areca nut, where has he
 stuck?" They all made torches (of dry coconut palm
 leaves) because it was quite dark. They left off sleeping,
 they went to look for him in the bush. They looked and
 looked, no man. They came back, they slept. Dawn came.
 They went back to look for him by daylight. They did not
 stop to eat. They found him, all the snakes were still inside
 him. His skin was full of them. Then they all ran away.

They went and talked to a man who was kin to this spirit.
 They got some *imun* (ceremonial currency consisting of
 flying-fox or porpoise teeth strung on native string). They
 gave it to this man who was kin to the spirit. They all
 went. The snake-man talked to all the snakes: "Why are
 you doing harm to your brother here?" He deceived the
 spirit-snakes, the man was not really their brother, he was
 another kind of man. "You fellows clear out." Then all
 the snakes went away from the man. The man's father
 asked the man who was kin to the spirit: "Will he be all

[881] ⁹ The boys wearing the *upi*, or hat showing that they have not completed their puberty ceremonies, are not allowed to cut their hair, which grows very long, and is worn pushed up inside the hat.

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right presently ? " Now all the snakes went away, the man⁵³⁹ was all right again. His father was very happy : " My⁸²⁵ child is all right again now." His father and his kinsmen caught a pig and gave it to the man who was kin to the snake-spirit.

This story was told by Tchiniv, an elderly woman of Ruri, the^[115] next village to Kurtatchi, about four miles to the east, but having a different dialect.

CLASS VII. TRANSFORMATION STORIES.

In yet a third kind of story involving animals, a human⁵³⁸ being changes himself into some creature, and sometimes back again, usually out of pique, or in revenge for a supposed injury. I cannot call to mind any in which the transformation is effected by somebody else, as occurs in the Arabian Nights stories. Some of the tales in this class may possibly be origin stories representing the first appearance of the creature involved, but as the teller did not say so I have classified them separately. They do not appear to have any totemic significance.

Woman into Fish.

Two women were fighting. One woman was fighting with⁵³⁹ her sister. One of the women said : " What are you beating me for ? " The other woman said : " All right ! You just wait till my husband comes." Her husband came now. He asked : " What are you doing to my wife ? " The woman's sister said : " Oh ! I am cross with her, she won't be kind to me, she is cross with me all the time." The man's wife said : " All right. By and bye you people will be looking for me, do you think I shall stay here ? " Now the woman went to the shore, she went to get some clams. Her sister said : " What are you going to eat with the clams you are catching ? " " Never mind, I shall eat them without anything, I have no taro to eat with them." She went into the sea,